1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

241 243 cold to grow wheat from the beginning and has first to be loosened up and warmed by the sun.

The customs connected with weeding during the growing season are especially worth noting. Men and women take part, the women going to the fields in their best clothes which they change for their working clothes when the work begins. Men and women squat on their heels and work along the furrows of grain, singing as they work. One group answers the songs sung by another group and from time to time all burst into laughter and giggles because these songs are licentious and full of sexual references. Sometimes a man or woman sings a solo, to which all reply in chorus. If a traveler should happen to pass, especially a woman, one of the workers who has a knack for making up a song impromptu will start to sing a description of the traveler, full of suggestive remarks about the supposed purpose of the traveler's journey, with endless lascivious verses about "the way of the lonely hind roaming in search of the stag," and so forth. Only the young people take part in this work, while their elders remain in the family courtyard.

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This licentiousness is associated only with the weeding season. The Chinese of this region do not have a similar custom. There are comparable customs, however, in Tibet and also in Southeast Asia; and there were comparable customs among the ancient Sienpi and the ancient Turks. It is open to question whether the Shat'o brought the custom with them when they settled in the region or whether the Monguors learned it from the Tibetans[6] or the Sienpi.

241 The crops are either plucked by hand or harvested with a sickle, the work being done by both men and women. The threshing is done on the village threshing floor with a primitive stone roller pulled by oxen, horses, mules, or donkeys.

In addition to field agriculture there are small gardens close to each courtyard where the women plant vegetables such as onions, garlic, rape, leek, cabbage, pimento, spinach, watermelons, and cantaloupes.

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231 Livestock still rank as the second most important economic resource of the Monguors. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys, and pigs and wherever the pastures are sufficient they own as many sheep and cows as possible. Horses are important for prestige,

[6] For references to Southeast Asia (Annam, Cambodia, Laos, the White Tai, the Karens of Burma, the Angami Nagas of Assam, and the Miaos and Yaos of Southwest China), see Christopher Fürer-Haimendorff in *Anthropos* 30: 916, 1935. See also A. Lietard, *Les Lolo-p'o*, 152, Münster i. W., Achendorfsche Verlag, 1913, and D. Doutreligne in *Anthropos* 25: 163, 1930; also F. M. Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, 224, Hong Kong, Imprimerie des missions étrangères, 1930. For ancient China see H. Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 237, Paris, Boccard, 1927 and R. Granet, *La civilization chinoise* 1: 190, Paris, La renaissance du livre, 1929.

[p. 112a]

2: Schram--9 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Chapter I

Marriage by Purchase

583 The purchase of the wife by the husband's family is the common form of marriage among the T'ou-jen today. This form of marriage occurs in three different cases, each of which has its customs and special rights:

A. Marriage with a young girl as the official wife
B. Marriage with a widow as the official wife
C. Marriage with a young girl or widow as the second wife, or polygamy

A. Marriage with a Young Girl as the Official Wife

Summary. -- 1. Parties to the marriage. 2. Social position of the future partners with respect to marriage. 3. When the marriage proposal is made. 4. How it is made. 5. Discussion of the bride price. 6. Delivery of the presents. 7. Age required for marriage. 8. Setting of the wedding date and last arrangements. 9. Presentation of last gifts and invitation to the wedding. 10. Wedding without ceremonies. 11. Farewell dinner at the daughter-in-law's home. 12. Getting of the bride. 13. The bride's arrival in her new family. 14. Gifts to the bridegroom's family. 15. The wedding. 16. Opening of the daughter-in-law's mouth. 17. Dinner. 18. Gifts to the family of the daughter-in-law. 19. Departure of the guests. 20. Visits after the wedding. 21. Relations of the newly married couple with the daughter-in-law's family.

1. Parties to the Marriage

584 It is natural that those who have the means choose a young girl for a wife; moreover, this is almost a necessity, because they marry young. Ordinary unions are therefore contracted between young people.

532 /12/ The first question which arises is this: With whom may marriage be contracted?

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582 605 the mother in marriage and now we give you back her daughter to marry your son." The Chinese do not have this expression, as a scholar pointed out to me with a touch of scorn. When the daughter of brothers marries the son of her paternal aunt, which frequently occurs among the Chinese and the T'ou-jen, it is said of this alliance "that the niece goes to join her aunt."

584 184 At any rate one should not conclude from the above that today among the T'ou-jen all marriages are contracted, from generation to generation, regularly and necessarily, between members of the same families; one must not infer that the daughters-in-law in one family are always cousins; neither should one believe that people do not become united with "foreign" families in our use of the word. Present-day conditions are no longer those of former times; the truth is that [605 582] marriages between cousins (of brothers and sisters) are still very numerous. But since one family may be allied in this way to five or six others, and since one seeks avidly to remain always in the same circle of alliances, it is natural that unions between relatives will be more numerous than those between strictly "foreign" families.

582 This custom is of capital importance. Why does one seek and hold in such high honor these unions between families with which one already has former kin relations? This is an old and general custom. Why above all, is the notion of tao ts'in, "returning the marriage," considered to be sacrosanct among the T'ou-jen? When a brother asks his sister for a daughter to marry his son, she cannot refuse under any pretext. Why? No one knows. Why does marriage generally remain circumscribed within a restricted circle of families? Why should a practice so generalized and deeply rooted in custom have to be recalled in the traditional short speech of the master of ceremonies of the bride's family on the wedding day at the bridegroom's house, even when the /17/ husband and wife belong to absolutely unrelated families? Even then it is supposed that they were related a long time ago, and that the present marriage renews the old relationships!

581 To understand this practice, should one not recall that all the T'ou-jen formerly lived in a nomadic state? These groups living in the immense steppes of Asia had necessarily to look for support from other nomadic groups, wandering like themselves and seeking support

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581 like themselves, for fear of being absorbed or exterminated by other clans stronger than they. Now what is more natural for making these supports as firm and durable as possible than family unions incessantly renewed by marriage?

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614 As a matter of fact the youth of the two groups are then mutual-
581 ly exchanged in marriage, and the young people constitute reciprocal guarantees by founding new families on one side and the other. What is more natural than that the pact concluded between two groups be sealed by a series of marriages? When one reads the history of the Mongols, one learned that a certain clan always used to take its wives from a certain other one; that peace was sealed by marriages; that pacts were guaranteed by matrimonial alliances. This is the natural and necessary economy of the nomadic state. Formerly, the purpose of marriage was not only to found a family, but very often to bring together groups of families, or whole clans.

008 When within this sphere of ideas one understands the expression tao-ts'in with its character of supreme obligation, of sacredness, one easily finds an explanation for it; similarly, one easily understands the custom of marriage between young people of groups already related. Vestiges are found here of the nomadic state where such alliances were a necessity. But as an organ useless to the body slowly atrophies and its reason for being in the end is no longer understood, so the customs under consideration, having become useless to the
Mo present-day agrarian economy and practiced /18/ less and less, have
MI ended up by no longer being understood by the people. (1)
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1. Vladimirtsov, The Life of Ghingis Khan, p. 10. "The tribal constitution of the Mongols implied exogamy, that is to say, it obliged the men of a given clan to take wives from some other clan that was not considered closely akin to their own....Owing to the constant feuds, wars and raids, the kidnapping of marriageable women was a frequent occurrence (witness the case of Yesugei-Begatur himself)... another solution was for the clans to conclude

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agreements for mutual exchange of women. The respective members of the two clans that had entered on such agreement called each other "Kuda...." /Cited in English./

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The word Kuda is found as goda in the Monguor dialect as in all the other Mongol dialects; among the Monguor it has lost its primary sense. The custom according to which the members of two clans exchanged girls in marriage no longer exists. The word guda today is the name which the members of two families related by the marriage of one of their children give to each other.

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The conclusion then will be that we see the law of exogamy practiced largely mitigated by that of endogamy, which causes many wives, even in our day, to be taken from among the daughters of paternal aunts. (2)

2. I do not believe it is necessary to refer to totemism in order to explain the law of exogamy which presides over marriage among the T'ou-jen. The conditions of nomadic life amply provide an explanation for this practice; secondly, exogamy is not essentially totemic; thirdly, totemism among the Mongols in general has not been proved. When we deal with religious life among the T'ou-jen, we shall see, nevertheless, two facts which may attract attention to this question: we shall see the erection of the pole at the festivals given after planting, and we shall have two youth festivals.

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marry within the "mokun" two groups of clan members, who have two different ancestors in the fifth /sic/ senior class, and form of them two exogamic groups (mokun) with separate spirits, rites and shamans. 2. the facultative prohibition, i.e. the prohibition to marry within that clan, with which the man's clan is bound by some relationship of clans, or religious connection, or some degree of relationship within the mother's clan: (which comes back to the following formula:) all my class (of generation equal to mine) women belonging to other clans are my facultative wives; 3. the incidental prohibition... (for example, for widows, widowers, etc.). /Cited in English, with interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

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In the same way, marriage between young people of neighboring families are strongly discouraged. In this regard the T'ou-jen quote the Chinese saying: Liang pou tso leang kia, to-i men pou t'ong t'ong kia: "Two different families do not live in the same courtyard, /20/ one does not contract marriage with the family opposite." This is to avoid difficulties which might then easily arise.

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2. Social Position of the Future Partners with Respect to Marriage

Separation of the sexes does not exist among the T'ou-jen as it exists among the Chinese, either before or after marriage. Let us, nevertheless, beware of concluding from this that there is betrothal preceding marriage. Among the T'ou-jen there is no mutual promise of marriage made between the interested parties with a certain solemnity; moreover, love does not precede the unions. The future partners do not make their choice after knowing each other.

/20 cont'd/
584 Custom requires that the engaged couple not have relations before marriage and that they avoid each other as much as possible.

[593] We are in the Orient. Parents are absolute masters of their children. They do not conceive of marriage as being their children's personal business. With them marriage is today a family matter, as it was formerly that of the whole group, or the community.

181 Nowadays the T'ou-jen family seeks its own advantages in it,
178 and the interested parties find it natural that the general welfare precedes the individual welfare, just as formerly their families, living in clans, in compact groups, found it natural that the welfare of their private families be subordinated to that of the whole group.

584 The evolution of the T'ou-jen individual today has not yet reached the point where his personal interest takes precedence over that of his family. Parents alone, then, decide the marriages of their children, and the latter find this custom rational and accept, with their fatalistic way of thinking, the often deplorable consequences of it.

/21/ However, it can happen, when a girl has not been sought in marriage at an early age, which is unusual, that the young people have talked about things other than the fine weather. In these cases it is natural that there are preferences and that the parents take them into account, provided they are not injurious to the interests of the family and especially those of the mother-in-law. But this case is the very great exception because the children are already betrothed before they have been able to make a choice.

3. When the Marriage Proposal Is Made

The marriage proposal is rarely made after the young people are old enough to understand the importance of this act and are capable of manifesting their preferences. Besides, nobody has ever thought of waiting until the children were old enough, for marriage is the task of the parents and not of the children. But such a case can occur upon the death of one of the betrothed persons toward the time of the marriage; again, it can occur in a family which was too

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534 poor to ask for a girl in marriage and which later, having arrived in easier circumstances, has the means for it. These are always exceptional cases.

As a general rule parents ask for a girl in marriage for their son when she is very young, that is, when she is three or four years old. It even happens rather often that the promise of marriage is made before the birth of the children, provided the children to be born are of different sex. The promise is then repeated in front of the guests at the churching feast, and later the official betrothal formalities will be carried out. (1)

1. Match-making can be effected before the birth of the bride and groom. In this case if the sex of the child does not correspond to the supposition of the parents, they await the birth of other children. The Manchus suppose this custom to be of a very old origin. Shirokogoroff, p. 72. /Cited in English./

532 /22/ One could conclude from the above that the ages of the partners do not differ too much in many cases. In general, however, with the exception of the case last cited, it must be said that the bride is usually one or two years older than the groom; it even happens, and unfortunately the case is not rare, that the bride is 17 years old when the groom is scarcely ten or eleven. These are sad unions, arranged by selfish mothers-in-law, who see in the daughter-in-law a servant, and in the marriage of the son a lightening of their own work. These marriages take place when the girl is 17 and the son is still a child in all the full sense of the term. (1)

1. The brides are about the same age of the grooms i.e. 21. However it occurs very often that the bride is older than the groom. I know some cases when the wives are 5 - 6 years older than their husbands.

2: Schram--23 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9
Historical Mongolia AH2

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> This may occur for example, when the parents of a young man need a working woman in the house and take before the wedding, a small girl as the future wife of their son who dies before the wedding is accomplished: then the girl becomes the wife of the following son. It is seldom that the husband is older than his wife. In the condition of the Manchu social system all these combinations are quite natural, because the parents or clan relatives who marry their children have as the purpose of marriage not only marriage as such, but rather the obtaining of new working member for the family. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 64. /Cited in English./

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584 The age at which a marriage proposal is made for a girl and the way in which the mother-in-law seeks her own advantage in the matter suffice to prove that those concerned have nothing to do with it and that their marriage is solely the business of their parents.

4. How Is a Marriage Proposal Made?

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584 Since marriage is the most important event in the family, it
787 is natural that it should have a religious character and begin with a religious rite. They thus begin with an examination of the year, month, day, and hour of birth of the future partners /23/ in order to find out whether the union will be prolific and fortunate. (1)

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1. Voyage à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821 /Trip to Peking across Mongolia in 1820 and 1821/ by Timkovski, translated and published with corrections by Klaproth in 1827, Vol. 2, p. 306. Before a marriage

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(among the Mongols) may be concluded, it is necessary to calculate with the aid of books under what signs the future husband and wife were born, so that the heavenly body which governs the birth of the latter may not be harmful to that of the former, nor dominate it: which means that the woman must not govern the household.

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The Mongols count 12 signs which correspond to our months; they are: 1, mouse; 2, ox; 3, tiger; 4, hare; 5, dragon; 6, serpent; 7, horse; 8, ram; 9, monkey; 10, hen; 11, dog; 12, pig. The fifth year, also called ibeghel, is the year in which it is always permitted to marry. As for the seventh kharchi, it is the opposite: for example, if the girl was born under the sign of the mouse and the ox, and the boy under those of the dragon and the monkey, then the marriage is permitted. But if one of the two was born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of the horse, in this case, even though they are of different lineage, the union cannot take place. The Mongols still claim that the ox and the tiger, the hen and the horse, and the monkey are of opposite constellations, pernicious signs, "Kharchi" which are decidedly unfavorable to marriages.

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The marriage having been recognized as likely to be fecund and peaceful, they will proceed to the marriage proposal. At the beginning of the first negotiations, they will be careful to insinuate that the alliance has been predicted to be a happy one. Nevertheless,

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584 the family of the fiancée will not neglect also to have the case ex-
787 amined by competent people. If there is a discrepancy between the two predictions, a third examination will be held.

If the alliance is sincerely desired on both sides, the solution will be quickly satisfactory; for the diviner knows the people he is dealing with.

In the opposite case, the examiner, a diplomat when necessary, will give an ill-omened solution, and the marriage will be shelved. This is a good way for one side to politely refuse a marriage proposal, and for the other to understand the refusal, without loss of face.

They say that nobody would dare do without this preliminary rite. This is easy to believe for anyone who is aware of the /24/ mania of this people for consulting fate for all events of any importance, all the more when it is a question, under the circumstances, of an act with such grave and far-reaching consequences...and in spite of everything, they often disregard this when the proposed match has won their approval.

584 But by whom is this horoscope read?
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[771] The yellow lamas and the shamans, in Monguor bo, are never consulted, although lamaism and shamanism are the T'ou-jen's own religions. On this occasion they have recourse to the Chinese Ing-kang sien-cheng /lit., practitioner of Yin and Yang/ (diviner) or to the lamas of the red sect. The reason for this choice has always remained a mystery to me; no T'ou-jen was able to explain it.

584 This formality carried out, the father or mother of the future bridegroom, on the occasion of a visit to the parents of the future bride, proposes the marriage. The answer having been favorable,
583 "the mother alone" goes to the home of the family of the future
584 daughter-in-law to offer the parents eight, ten, or 12 steamed rolls (it must always be an even number), four feet of red cloth, a pair of shoes for the little daughter-in-law, and several lengths of red cord, which are customarily plaited into a girl's braids.

They take tea, they chat, the little chosen one presents herself, they talk of marriage, and the future mother-in-law takes her leave. The gifts have been accepted, the girl has presented

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583 584 herself, the marriage is therefore set. No longer is it kept from anyone; on the contrary, they are careful to make the news known. But if, for example, before this formal visit of the future mother-in-law, the fiancée's family has changed its mind, the gifts would be left intact on the table, they would talk amiably about the weather, the girl would not appear, no allusion to the projected marriage would be made, the gifts would be politely returned at the time of departure, and the alliance would be given up. Only after these formalities have been completed, will the family of the future bridegroom secure a go-between.

171 584 /25/ This second formal visit by the mother then is definitely binding. This custom is abnormal in a patriarchal economy. (1)

> 1. The bride's father, according to the customs refuses the proposals, but they do not take as serious this answer, and some time later they send to the bride's father the match-makers who propose for his daughter some price (kalin). If the two families are already connected by the matrimonial relations, the "kalin" is only a formality....
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> Usually the bride's father consults his wife; if he decides the question without consulting her, she can protest, but her protest is not taken in consideration. Then her husband's youngest brother intervenes, and advises the bride's mother to accept her husband's decision. After this formality is completed, she must agree to the inevitable thing. But if they address the demand to the bride's mother, her words have the same value as that of the bride's father and never can be changed. If they address the

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demand to the bride's father's youngest brother (it is supposed the father is dead), he does not answer without consulting the bride's mother and usually he acts according to her wish. Shirokogoroff, pp. 72, 73. /Cited in English./

584 5. Discussion of the Bride Price and Deciding on the Wedding Gifts

Contrary to Chinese practice which requires two go-betweens, a T'ou-jen ordinarily engages only one, a friend of the family.

One is in no hurry to get a go-between. When the girl is only four or five years old, one waits two or three years more, indeed even longer, before giving this invitation. The promise of marriage having been made to the mother-in-law, there is no longer anything to fear; only at each New Year and at the festival of the fifteenth [431] day of the eighth moon, they call on each other, exchange small gifts, and call each other Guda, "relatives by alliance," all this in order to refresh the memory.

In exceptional cases, where the girl has reached marriageable age at the time of the marriage proposal, they do not delay in making use of the services of a go-between.

584 After choosing an auspicious day for this important matter, the go-between leaves with the traditional gifts: a small jug of gin [577 431] corked with a red (a color /26/ which brings good luck) lozenge and a strand of sheep's wool tied around the neck. Upon his arrival he puts his gift on the small table on the k'ang and pompously greets the fiancée's family with bows. They understand one another without saying a word; they drink tea, they smoke a pipe, and the go-between broaches his subject after pouring the gin for everyone present. "Now," he says, "since you have decided between yourselves on the marriage of your children, kindly set the day to decide on the gifts and discuss the traditional formalities. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, p. 73: The negotiations are always followed by

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a dinner with moderate libations, which made the bride's father more yielding on the question of the dimensions of the "kalin" (earnest). The final conditions are elaborated usually in the state of profound drunkenness. The "kalin" must be definitely fixed during these negotiations. It consists usually of pigs, from two to eight, always in pairs, which must be given after the match-making, some years later and just before the wedding. The pigs can also be commuted by money. Moreover they give yearly $10 (or Russian roubles) for the bride's clothing and also yearly, namely in the last month of the year; they give $1 - 5 for artificial flowers and paints.... In general all calculations concerning the "kalin" payments are made in pigs. The Manchus never calculate it in horse or cattle units.

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The Mongols use as unit the horse, the reindeer. Tungus, the reindeer. It is interesting to note that the Dahurs who live in very close neighborhood with the Manchus, Mongols and Tungus, for this purpose use as unit clothing. -- (as do the T'ou-jen and the Miao of Yunnan, Kweichow.) /Cited in English, with two interpolations in French, indicated by underline./

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Timkovski, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 307: Among the Mongols the marriage proposal is made through outsiders. The consent having been given, the father

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this object must naturally be very important; with poor people the bride price rarely exceeds 400 head of livestock of different kinds.

Schotter, Anthropos, notes on tribes..., p. 344: At their betrothal the Inag-hoang-miao barbarians give a horse as earnest.

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This day is again a lucky day, chosen in advance. The day being set, leaves is taken, and the go-between returns to the family of the son-in-law to congratulate it on the good intentions he believes he has found at the home of the bride's parents.

On the day agreed upon the go-between comes to get final instructions before going to the bride's home. At the bridegroom's home he finds two relatives of the family, who are good speakers and have been invited by the family to accompany him and help him in the discussion. Tea /27/ and gin are drunk, and the family earnestly begs the three friends to do their utmost to avoid big expenses for them.

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Having arrived at the bride's home with the traditional small jug, they find two relatives of this family also, who have been invited to take the family's part in the discussions. They do not delay in beginning after the presentation of the gin. On both sides care has been taken to invite the best speakers. These discussions differ entirely from those of the Chinese.

When the T'ou-jen have the floor, they keep it for ten, fifteen minutes without being interrupted; they make real little speeches. They tell you the most ordinary things with imperturbable seriousness, and everyone present listens with the liveliest interest. One after the other starts over again from the beginning; there is no end to it. On the whole they know in advance on both sides, considering the circumstances of the family, where the discussion will end. But /28/ custom requires a brilliant contest in eloquence. One side demands the impossible, and the other offers a ridiculous minimum. Finally, they end up by following the customs which are the rule.

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583 For families of average circumstances (I am speaking of the years 1915 - 20) they decide that they will pay for the daughter-in-law:

Twenty-four strings of cash (a string of cash at that time was worth about one dollar, and the dollar about three francs).

In addition there will be given 24 pieces of cloth for making clothes, of which 12 of the best quality are to be used for the outside of the garment and 12 of lesser quality for the lining; there will be green, black, red, and violet pieces of cloth (eight feet of calico were equivalent to a piece of Chinese cloth).

After that a mare is still necessary, and its age and quality will be decided after a new discussion.

[565] They will recall with pride the ancient tradition of the race, which has never permitted marriages without the giving of mares. Among poor families, by force of circumstances, they do without this tradition, but custom always requires that it be recalled even so.

In general, in rich families payment will consist of:

25 dollars,
16 or 20 pieces of silk or satin,
60 strings of cash,
and finally the traditional mare.

There are exceptions to the rule; thus I have known a case where 50 strings of cash, two pieces of cloth, one mare, and two cows were given; another case in which were given 24 strings of cash, 14 pieces of cloth, and a mare; still another in which 30 strings of cash, 18 pieces of cloth, a mare, and a cow were given.

584 When an agreement has been reached, the final formalities are still to come. The speakers will make apologies: "We must admit," they will say, "that the sum and /29/ gifts on which we have agreed do not come up to your expectations. But we have had in mind, above all, the happiness of your daughter; the better off the bridegroom's family will be, the happier your daughter; and then also harmony between the two families is worth more than all the gold in the world; your daughter will be the first to profit by this arrangement; she will be treated all the better; in short, you also want her good fortune above all." Then they will praise the

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584 virtues of the bridegroom and his family and predict such a fine future for the girl that the whole family will end up by being satisfied in spite of themselves.

However, they will leave a door open in case the bridegroom's family should refuse their assent. They will explain therefore that they will still have all the trouble in the world in having their propo-
[583] sitions accepted by the bridegroom's family. When they leave they will take back on behalf of the bride's family two jugs of gin, three feet of green cloth, and three lengths of green cord for plaiting in the hair.

The bridegroom's family waits with impatience. A report must now be given of the whole discussion, and especially of its practical conclusions. Then it is the other side of the picture, and with all the eloquence of which they are capable, they try to present the propositions as being eminently advantageous; they put forth the difficulties they have had to overcome in order to get there, then also, there is the girl who will make an admirable wife....

Ordinarily they resign themselves and accept the propositions; but it also may happen that the discussions have to be undertaken again at a second session, which is not auspicious. Nevertheless, it is extremely rare that they do not succeed in coming to terms and in reaching an understanding.

587 Let us note that in the marriage of a girl, even though there is only one single go-between, no marriage contract is written nor even a list of the gifts to be offered; while in the marriage of a widow, although there are two go-betweens, a contract is necessary, duly signed by the widow's parents-in-law and the go-betweens.

/30/ 6. Delivery of the Presents Demanded for the Bride

583 a) When do they proceed to the delivery of the presents?

In the exceptional case where the girl is thirteen or fourteen years old when she is sought in marriage, then during the month following the choice of gifts, they try to offer what was agreed upon.

In other cases where the formalities were decided when the girl was still little, they usually wait until she has reached her

Mo 583 /30 cont'd/ eleventh or twelfth year. It may also happen that everything is given at one time after one year, and again that it is done in two or three installments. The custom is therefore that it takes a long time. (1)

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1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 308: Among the Mongols the payment of the bride price is not always made at one time; it takes place at different periods according to the wealth of the bridegroom, and these payments are sometimes extended for a period of six or seven years. The animals are delivered in the fall, each female is counted as two head.

HM [331]

Mo 584 But why these beatings about the bush which seem so petty? It is because we are dealing with practical people who consider everything, even the life and death of the girl. Indeed, if the girl were to die after the earnest has been given, the latter would not be given back; even if by chance there is another younger daughter in the family, one would not have the right to demand her to replace the dead girl. Nevertheless, if the families are well disposed and sincerely want to be allied by the marriage of their children, the negotiations are begun again, and they end up by giving the younger daughter after receiving several pieces of cloth and several dollars in compensation. Likewise, if the bridegroom dies and there is another younger unmarried son, one does not have the right to demand the bride for him; but there is always a way to reach an understanding, as in the preceding case, all the more because the difference in age between husband and wife /31/ is not taken into consideration among the T'ou-jen. It is therefore the general rule not to be in a hurry to give the earnest. However, there are laudable exceptions; it happens that more correct people are found who after two or three months fulfill this obligation.

/31 cont'd/

584 This mania for exploiting one another, which shows one small aspect of the race, is manifested at different times in the matrimonial customs; but this aspect being general, it does not offend any T'ou-jen.

583 b) How does one proceed to the delivery of the presents?

The go-between goes to the home of the bride, this time with two jugs of gin, stoppered with the lozenge and tied with the wool. The purpose of the visit is twofold: the first is to set the day of the ceremony, the second is to try to bargain again on what had been agreed upon to spend for the girl, "for the bridegroom's family is very poor, they have recently had misfortunes, losses of livestock, unforeseen expenses; in spite of all their good intentions they have not yet been able to buy the full number of required gifts, in short, it will be necessary to be generous this time and give ever so little 'face' to the go-between...."

583 584 It is good form to yield at least something. When they yield, they proceed by pairs, for example two strings of cash, two pieces of cloth.... The concessions made, the day of the ceremony is set.

584 If the daughter-in-law's family is poor and the son-in-law's wealthy, the go-between will propose to the latter that they invite the poor family to their home so that the ceremony can take place impressively. In this case, the earnest will be given at the groom's home in the presence of the go-between.

583 The delivery of the presents is generally not made without ceremony. It is the occasion of a little festival in the bride's family, in which the go-between, the groom's father, his maternal uncles, his older brothers, the advocates of a little while ago, in all seven or eight people, participate.

/32/ The go-between, taking the jug brought from the groom's home, offers to all the bride's family a tiny cup of gin; then he [301] spreads on a table the marriage gifts, to which have been added: two artificial flowers which will be stuck in the bride's hair, two bricks of rouge, a piece of black crepe which will serve as a veil, a pair of eardrops, a pair of artistically embroidered shoes.

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

●584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[303] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything,

/33 cont'd/
583 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to
584 share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.
584 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four
788 times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:
539

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
tso ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all
[262] present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/34 cont'd/

Mo 584 431 A visitor who has come to offer presents is never allowed to leave without being given a gift. The receptacle which he brought cannot leave the house empty. Before, at each visit, they were careful to return to the go-between his jug filled with gin; the same will be done later.

7. Age Required for Marriage

Mo 582 The age required for marriage is 15 years; these 15 years are supposedly reached at the age of 14, after the winter solstice. The age of the bride varies from 15 to 17. The girls rarely pass this age without being married. This is because there are moral reasons for this general rule; as a matter of fact, the T'ou-jen claim that girls are "big" toward that age, and that there must be no more delay in Mo [801] marrying them off. Rarely girls are married at 13. Marriage never takes place when the age of the bride is an even number.

As for the age of the groom, there is no fixed rule; they do not bother about the even or odd number of years of his age. He can marry at ten, at 20, as well as at 30. Those who have the means ordinarily do not pass 17 without marrying. (1)

Ma 582

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 64: The Manchus consider as necessary, almost obligatory to marry their sons by the age of 21, and usually all Manchu young men are married before reaching this age. If this is not done "everybody will laugh" say the Manchus, because the clan to which the unmarried young man belongs may be supposed to be "inactive, weak and poor." /Cited in English./

/35/ 8. Setting of the Wedding Date; Negotiations concerning the Last Arrangements

Mo 584 When the fiancée has reached the required age for marriage, the custom is that the mother-in-law, rarely the future father-in-law,

/35 cont'd/

584 goes to her home with the traditional presents: gin, eight or ten
[583] loaves of bread, four feet of red cloth. The go-between is not present.

This visit is ordinarily made toward the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is one of the great festivals of the year. After putting down her gifts, the visitor pretends to kneel to greet the family ceremoniously, but this is forestalled. Tea and bread are served. Then the visitor herself takes her jug and pours gin for those present, a sign that she comes on an important mission. After this, she speaks of the wedding and asks that the day for it be set.

Appearances require that the bride's family pretend to wish to put off the wedding. "They love the girl so much, she is so good to her parents, so devoted, they will never be able to separate themselves from her." They beg that she be left with them for two or three more years. The daughter, in the kitchen, must weep aloud meanwhile...finally they end up by yielding with tears in their eyes.

Several days afterward the groom's family invites a Chinese diviner or a red lama, two members of the bride's family, her parents, and the go-between. The auspicious day is chosen with all possible respect, for on the happy wedding day will depend in great measure the good fortune of the married couple. This choice is of greatest importance.

[595 178] In the family of the Li t'ou-se no weddings will be seen in the third and the ninth month of the year. In the old days the people whom he governs did the same; nowadays the people bother less and less with this custom.

[585] /36/ The wedding day being set, discussions are begun on the subject of the last arrangements. Well-to-do families make weddings the biggest festivity of their lives. The arrangements for this festivity are made by common agreement between the two families after a laborious discussion.

The bride's family: "I have then made the sacrifice of my daughter for a certain day, but have you arranged all that is necessary for the wedding? Have you prepared for my daughter a headdress of silver strips, skirts, clothes...."

Again, much is asked in order to obtain little. The mother-in-law makes excuses: We are poor, times are bad...but she protests

/36 cont'd/

384 the attentions with which she will surround the bride....Again, the go-between by means of eloquence must run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

433 For people of average means, at this second settlement, they 431 ordinarily end up by promising for the bride:

a headdress of copper strips,
eardrops of silver or silvered copper,
a cloth skirt,
cloth trousers,
a pair of leggings for boots,
a hat cover of red cloth for the wedding day and another of green cloth.

Rich families manage to give a hat of silver strips or silvered copper, one or two pairs of silver eardrops, and several silk garments. If the bridegroom's family is too accommodating, it will be well exploited.

After that they come to the negotiations about the dinner. The bride's family begins by asking for their guests a dinner of 80 to 100 places. Now palavers...the go-between ends up by getting them to content themselves with about 40 places on their part. Among rich families a dinner of 100 places is required.

/37/ But what dinner will you give? We must have a Chinese dinner of 12 or 16 large bowls. We do not wish to lose face, it is the least that you can give us, we have continually made concessions for everything, on this point we cannot yield. New exploits of eloquence on the part of the go-between, "Until now I have been able to arrange everything to the satisfaction of both families, I hope you will let me keep face until the end. I have always succeeded in marriage discussions, and I hope that this time it will work again. Let us see; plates and dishes are necessary for a Chinese dinner; no way to find them in the whole country. An excellent cook is necessary, where is he? A room for the dinner is necessary, where is it to be found? And then, we are not Chinese. Let us follow the customs of our ancestors and give a big T'ou-jen dinner. 273 I insist upon gin of superior quality and in sufficient quantity, two

/37 cont'd/

pounds per person; I demand big and fat sheep...," and everything is settled.

And to say that the two parties knew the conclusions of the discussion beforehand! Palavering is necessary, one must give oneself importance; then, speechifying and chattering are the principal and the most agreeable pastime of people who almost never work in their lives.

Most weddings take place after the work in the fields is over, in the months of October, November, and December. About this time the animals are fat, the barns full of grain, and there is something with which to distill, oneself, a kind of gin with spelt. However, one does see rich families who, to demonstrate abundance and well-being, celebrate the marriages of their children in the months of May, June, and July, which are called the "empty" months. (1)

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 76: Some time before the wedding they fix a happy day for the ceremony of wedding in accordance with Chinese manual....by Chinese sien-sheng. /Cited in English./

P. 74: Some time before the wedding, the representatives of the bridegroom's clan in a large number, and connected by friendship with the bride's clan people, call upon the bride's father or his substitute, to fix exactly the day of the wedding. But the bride's father refuses to do it. /38/ Then the bridegroom's representatives propose to him a supplementary "kalin". In the past time this consisted only of a pig, which was eaten during the wedding, but it has grown with time and at the present time it can be valued at $100 - 300 paid in pigs or money or goods. Besides, the bridegroom's clan must give some silk

/38 cont'd/

583 clothing and jewellery up to the sum of $100 -300. If the bridegroom's clan refuses, the wedding may be adjourned for a period of two years. They can refuse to give the bride three times, but finally they are obliged to give her without supplementary "kalin". In such case,
582 for the bride the age of 27 years is limit beyond which she cannot be kept in her clan. So that the matrimonial periods are the ages of 15, 17, 19, or 16, 18, 20... However if the matrimonial parties are on good terms the payment of the supplementary "kalin" can be omitted. Some days, 5 or 6 before the wedding, the bridegroom's clan people bring the supplementary "kalin" which they transmit solemnly to the bride's father or his substitute. /Cited in English./

/38/ 9. Delivery of the Presents and Invitation to the Wedding

583 About ten days before the wedding, the go-between and several members of the bride's family go to deliver the gifts agreed upon; in addition they bring 12 loaves of bread, a sheep, a goat, and the pieces of meat called mutsé, a term which the people did not succeed in explaining to me; only one knows by that that all the girls of the bride's neighborhood and the married girls in her family are invited.

583 After taking tea, they show the clothes, the hat, the eardrops...
584 so that they may be examined in detail. From time to time it happens that at this moment new difficulties again arise. Such and such a piece is refused.... Another must be substituted for it in haste or the wedding will be postponed until later. They demand everything up to the last cash before allowing the bride to leave;

Mo /38 cont'd/
583 for they know that after her departure they will not be able to get
584 anything more.

10. Marriage without Ceremonies

Mo 585 When a girl has reached marriageable age and the families are too poor to permit themselves the luxury of grand festivities, they proceed in a very simple fashion which they call /39/ "marriage without ceremonies," that is, the girl is taken away without any ceremonies. That is always done the last month of the year, on the ninth, tenth, or eleventh day. The mother-in-law in the company of the go-between goes to get the girl. They take tea with her family, they are served a piece of meat and some bread; then the two of them take the girl away on foot. If the distance is great, they go on horseback. When they arrive at the home of the groom, there is no festivity. The bride, still wearing her hair as unmarried girls wear it, becomes a member of the family as an unmarried girl. (1)

Mo 585

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 65: The Manchus also adopt the following practice: they take into the family where there is a boy a small girl for whom they pay her parents a price arranged and she lives in the position of a bride until the boy reached the age of 17, 18. Then they have the marriage ceremony and the young man becomes a husband. They follow this practice when the girl's parents are poor and have many daughters and the boy's parents need a working member in the family. P. 75: When the girl reached the age of 15, 17 years, they make a very modest wedding. /Cited in English./

/40 cont'd/

11. Farewell Dinner at the Bride's Home

584 The solemnities begin at the bride's home the day preceding
585 the wedding. They are often richer and noisier than the ones at the groom's home on the day of the wedding. They have a special character. No guest of the groom's family is present at this festivity; it is given solely in honor of the relatives of the bride's family and intimate friends. Nobody is invited. It is up to each one to judge whether his relations with the celebrating family permit his presence. The more influence the family has, the more numerous will be the intimate friends. With us, such an uncertainty about the number of guests would be very annoying for the service and would cause a good many surprises at the dinner. Here, this is the least of their worries, for the custom of bringing loaves of bread in the guise of gifts can provide for every eventuality.

585 In the first place, one notices among the guests the members
582 of the family of the bride's mother. They will never fail to be present at the festivity. They consider their presence not /41/ only a duty but a right; thus their absence would be unjustifiable. The elders of the mother's clan are always present. Truly odd way of thinking, they do not go to the festivity to enhance its solemnity nor to give evidence of their friendship to the family, but tanquam potestatem habentes /"as having authority"/. They see in the girl who is leaving the family their daughter who is leaving them; they wish to be present at her departure and show themselves her protectors. One feels in this the unity of the family, one sees in it a feeling of strong cohesiveness; it is the clan which is there at the dinner. They will absent themselves from the dinner at the groom's home, but never from the one at the bride's.

Among the guests are also seen the members of the paternal side of the girl, friends and neighbors. The members of the mother's family take precedence at the dinner.

585 The Orient is pre-eminently the land of ceremonies; at fes-
[183] tivities the guests require that they be rigorously observed; if not, although treated royally, they will not be satisfied and in the whole region criticisms will go about at a good round pace.

/111 cont'd/

500 that the Eskimo present in the east of the polar region is not as uniform. /Cited in German./

Anthropos, 1929, p. 129. The central North Asiatics stand in contrast with all the peoples (polar peoples) named. Exogamy prevails among the Samojed, Ostjak, Jakut, Tungus, and Dolgan. This extends not only to the kin groups but to the whole tribe. /Cited in German./

Page 130. A kind of exogamy such as is present among these peoples requires that membership in a given community (marriage class in this case) be reckoned either on the father's side or on the mother's side, and, of course, for the simple reason .... /Cited in German./

104 Page 117. The betrothal of children, that is, the designation of two people for marriage before puberty, or even before the birth of one or both of them /cited in German/ ... (is found among all the peoples of the polar region).

584 Page 102. Customarily, an intermediary appears, usually the father or some other close male relative of the bridegroom, who negotiates with the father of the bride and often receives compensation for his trouble, perhaps in the form of property. /Cited in German./

583 Page 102. The price for the bride is determined according to the wealth of the participants and is paid in property, for example, in valuable pelts. /Cited in German./

Page 102. The bride price is paid either immediately or in installments. In the latter case the bridegroom can take his bride only when the last installment has been paid, although often he has already slept with her. /Cited in German./

Page 103. I have already said that among the peoples being discussed here a bride price /Mitgift/ is always expected. In the specific reports concerning this, almost all the authors agree. /Cited in German./

545 Herbert Koenig, "Das Ehenecht der Polarvoelker," Anthropos, 1929, pp. 136-137. Polygamy and Similar Situations... In the whole polar region polygamy lawfully

/112 cont'd/

583 A. A widow

B. A girl, or the question of husband-sons-in-law

A. Marriage of a Widow

587 One marries a widow without having to pay for her when she is indigent and finds herself after the death of her husband with three or four children; when furthermore she is alone in the world by reason of the fact that she has no brothers-in-law, or if she has, they are too poor to provide for her needs. This is then the case of widows without means of subsistence.

583 /113/ There are naturally few with a taste for this kind of
587 marriage, for those who venture into such will have to raise another person's children, who, sooner or later, if they do not return bad for good, will at least be very little grateful for the care which has been given them. This kind of marriage is literally that called by the Chinese tchao fou iang tse, i.e., "looking for a husband who will feed the children." Although these unions are not advantageous for the husband, nevertheless there are always poor men of some age who, attracted by the hope of offspring, decide to expose themselves to the dangers of such a union, or who rather allow themselves to be tempted by the widow. Indeed, the terms of this marriage say clearly that it is the widow who is seeking the husband. That says enough,
584 that these unions are not highly prized. In such a marriage, the two
587 parties agree on it first between themselves. Their decision made, they themselves invite a go-between, who will go to see the paternal uncles and the grandparents of the children. The T'ou-jen family has an agnatic base, and the family system is that of the large family
589 with community of property. On the death of the husband, the
421 widow remains therefore within the domain of the community; consequently, it will be necessary to recognize her owners. But since this property is rather a burden for them, it will be easy to come to an agreement. Furthermore, the widow's family knows that if it is not accommodating, the widow will be able to give them a lot of trouble.

/114 cont'd/

Mo 587 428 593 assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go back into its domain.

These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the Mo 589 latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them for their clan.

Mo 584 587 675 When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the obligations of the new husband.

Mo 582 If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by going away as they wish.

Mo 587 591 There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the ceremony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the go-between. (1)

Ma 428 589 425

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.[1], p. 142: If the widow and her daughters do not wish to be cared for by their husband's and father's brothers, they may also receive a part of the property. This part is equal to that of a brother. In this way the woman may become the owner of land and house. But this ownership can be maintained only during two generations (from mother to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the Manchus --- Analyst.]

N *563 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren. M 592 When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually 554 consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the M 581 veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mon- 562 gours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the an- [769] cestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered [771] a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their live- stock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N *563 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to con- M 584 siderable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen 583 usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage 582 age for boys is between 14-16.

Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is ab- N *563 solute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly ob- M 614 served among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage 582 with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the 565 weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is re- garded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy rules need not be observed as strictly.

N *563 Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a M 582 sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different clan.

M [587] A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family, usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband. However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she wants.

N *563 Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage M 588 to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan, but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patri- lineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.

N *563 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being M 604 part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence